

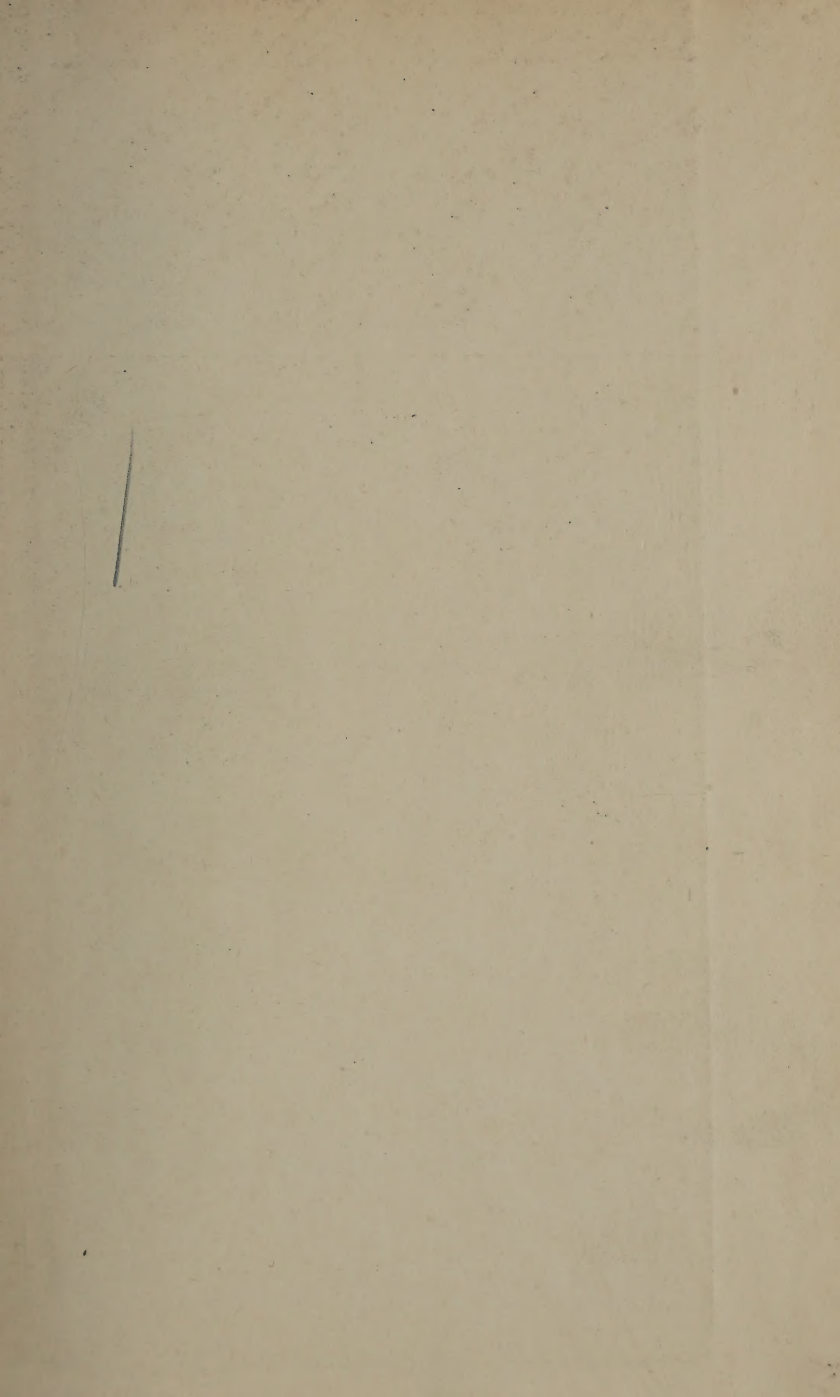


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CHRISTIAN

COMMUNION WITH SLAVE-HOLDERS:

WILL THE ALLIANCE SANCTION IT?

LETTERS

TO

REV. JOHN ANGELL JAMES,

AND

REV. RALPH WARDLAW, D.D.,

SHEWING THEIR POSITION IN THE ALLIANCE.

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Wardlaw

JESSE HALL, YORKSHIRE-STREET.

1846.

Answer.

Answered Aug 17. 1903

CHRISTIAN

FELLOWSHIP WITH SLAVE-HOLDERS

AND THE

EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

To the Rev. John Angell James.

SIR—The friends of the Evangelical Alliance are to meet in Manchester on the 4th of November, to form the District Organization for Great Britain and Ireland. The three millions of American slaves, by their agents, (for they are dumb and forbidden to speak for themselves) will be present at that meeting to ask the Alliance—"Does the British branch of it mean to adopt and distinctly to avow the principle of no-fellowship with slave-holders? Or, Do you mean to strike hands with those who rob us of wives and children, of the bible, of Christ, of all hope for time and eternity?" This question *must* be answered, because it *ought* to be answered. The British portion of that Alliance must take its stand *openly* for or against the slave—and for or against this cruel, inhuman oppressor. Nothing else will satisfy the British people. The prominent members of the Alliance have committed themselves to the principle of Non-fellowship. See the position of the Rev. JOHN ANGELL JAMES, and Rev. Dr. MORRISON.

In 1840, a World's Anti-Slavery Convention was held in London, at which the following was adopted:

"Resolved—That this Convention, while it disclaims the intention of dictating to christian communities the terms of their fellowship, respectfully submits, that it is their incumbent duty to separate from their communion all those persons who, after they have been faithfully warned in the spirit of the gospel, continue in the sin of enslaving their fellow-creatures, or holding them in slavery; *with whatever mitigating circumstances it may be attended in their own particular case*, they give the support of their example to the whole system of compulsory servitude, and the unutterable horrors of the slave-trade."

In 1843 a second World's Anti-Slavery Convention was held in London, at which the Rev. John Angell James offered the same resolution, and accompanied it with a speech, from which the following is an extract:

"I may observe that the resolution I hold in my hand, will go to declare, not only that slavery is a sin, but a sin disqualifying the individual who persists in committing it, amidst all the light which blazes around him, from church fellowship. . . . We take negro slavery as it is, and declare that to be a crime, *unfitting* the individual who commits it, in this age for christian fellowship. . . . We lay down the general rule that slavery is a sin, and I repeat it, almost to tautology, *unfitting the individual for the fellowship of the christian Church.*"

In the same discussion the Rev. T. BIRT said of churches composed in part of slave-holders—"true they are assemblies of men calling themselves christians, but they *are not*, they CANNOT be, christian churches."

The Rev. Dr. Morrison said on the same occasion—"Allow me to say

to the Convention, and to the gentlemen who put the question—Whether they are prepared in this country to go the whole length of refusing church fellowship and ministerial communion with those on the other side of the atlantic, who are unsound upon the great question of slavery? that I am prepared, as far as I am concerned, to act up to the letter of this proposal; and in fact I have done so for the last three years. I should not receive the church testimonials of American christians, unless I found them sound on the question of slavery.”

These men sat in the Alliance conference with Dr. Thomas Smyth, of Charleston, South Carolina, who is waited on by *slaves* in his own house, and who is a slave-holder, virtually; and with Dr. Olin who declares that he should be a slave-holder if his health allowed him to live in the south; and with Dr. S. H. Cox who sat as moderator of a General Assembly last spring in Philadelphia, composed in part of slave-holders, and he sided with them in their discussions on slavery, and with many others who strike hands with “man-stealers” these “worst of thieves,” these “sinners of the first rank.”

The following was adopted by the *Secession Synod* of Scotland, May 8th, 1846, of which Dr. King, of Glasgow, and others who were in the Alliance, are members:—

“Resolved—That the Synod, regarding the system of slave-holding, *under any circumstances*, a heinous sin, and that of America as a sin of a peculiarly heinous and aggravated character, and having with this conviction on former occasions addressed the Presbyterian churches of America in language of faithful and earnest remonstrance, hitherto without effect, *the Synod now feel it to be their solemn duty to refuse christian fellowship* with any church which sanctions that system of iniquity, and appoint a committee to prepare a memorial, embodying these sentiments, to be addressed to the Presbyterian and other churches in America which sanction slave-holding.”

The following was adopted by the Relief Synod of Scotland, May 14th, 1846:—

“Resolved—That slave-holding, as now existing in the United States of America, is a sin against man and God—that it is peculiarly heinous when practised by professing christians—the Synod therefore resolves That having previously remonstrated with them, it is now the imperative duty of the Synod *to refuse christian fellowship with American SLAVE-HOLDERS, and Slave-holding churches*, until they confess and forsake their iniquity.”

April 30th, 1845, the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Scotland, of which Rev. JOSEPH WILSON was moderator, and Rev. WILLIAM ANDERSON, clerk,—

“Resolved—That slave-holders are unworthy of admission to christian privileges in any department of the church of Christ,—and that any church receiving such persons into full communion, holding them as christian brethren * * * is partaker of their sins and bringing dishonor on the blessed name of the holy religion of the Divine Redeemer.”

The Rev. Dr. Symington and Rev. Joseph Wilson, members of the above Synod, are also members of the Alliance that admits slave-holders and their apologists.

The following have been adopted by hundreds of churches and congregations in Scotland and England, and sent to the United States as a remonstrance to slave-holding churches:—

“That in the language of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America, adopted in 1794, we regard “all who are concerned in bringing any of the human race into slavery, or retaining them—all who *keep, sell, or buy slaves, as Man-stealers—guilty of the highest kind of theft and sinners of the first rank.*”

"That we cannot recognize as *evangelical christians*, worthy of our fellowship, any society of men either *wholly* or *partly* composed of those who *keep, sell, or buy* slaves. And whereas some, holding high and sacred offices in America are concerned both in bringing their fellow men into slavery and in retaining them in it, such men are, in our estimation, totally unworthy of being accounted either members, elders, or ministers of the church of Christ.

"That, so far as we have opportunity, we will resist every attempt to hold intercourse either in preaching the word, the dispensation of ordinances, or sitting in religious courts, with such ministers and churches in America, or any part of the world, as hold property in slaves, or tolerate this wickedness, so productive of other abominations within their pale.

"That we cordially sympathise with those churches which exclude slave-holders from their communion: we would fervently bid them God speed in their endeavours to separate slavery from christianity, in *name* and *appearance*, as it is essentially separated in *fact*, and to hold up the foul system to the scorn and execration of mankind."

The names of thousands and tens of thousands of the best ministers, elders, deacons, and church members of this kingdom have been appended to the above resolutions during the two past years, and sent to America. Many of them were in the Alliance Conference in London, side by side, of Doctors Cox, Olin, Smyth, Paton, Kirk, and other slave-holding and pro-slavery ministers from America. Is this the way in which John Angell James, Doctors Morrison, King, Wardlaw, Symington, and others mean to treat slave-holders and slave-breeders—exclude them from their several churches and pulpits as "man-stealers", "guilty of the highest kind of theft", and "sinners of the first rank"—and then, hug them to their bosom in the Evangelical Alliance as "honored, useful, praying christians—serving God in the gospel of his Son", in the language of Rev. Dr. Cunningham?

The Anti-Slavery League, recently formed in London, has this in view as one of its main objects, to outlaw from social respectability and christian fellowship in this kingdom, every American slave-holder and their allies and apologists, and so to saturate the public mind of Britain and Ireland with correct views of the character, motives, and crimes of slave-holding ministers and church members in America, that when they pollute these shores with their foot steps, they shall be regarded as common thieves and robbers are regarded, and be obliged to wander about as fugitives and vagabonds. The League will not cease its agitations until American slave-holders and slave-breeders of whatever name or station, become creatures of scorn and execration of every religious and ecclesiastical body and social and domestic circle in the kingdom. To accomplish this, we have only to lay before the British public the facts touching the wrongs and outrages perpetrated on the slaves by every slave-breeding and slave-holding minister and professor. Once convince the people that every American slave-holder is and *must* of necessity be, while he remains a slave-holder, just what the General Assembly declared him to be in 1794, a "Man-stealer," and the work is done. These praying, (?) pious, (?) christian, (?) slave-holders and slave traders—who turn the image of God into a brute—would retire into their dens of crime and pollution, and bear their shame and infamy alone and unsupported by the sympathy of the ministers and churches of England.

With deep solitude I shall look on to see if you will re-affirm the principle of No-fellowship with slave-holders in the British branch of the Alliance, which you have so unequivocally and strongly set forth in two World's Anti-slavery Conventions, and in your Churches, your Conferences, Associations, Presbyteries, and Synods,—and in your public addresses.

ses at Anti-slavery meetings. Our warfare is against *slave-holders* and not against slavery as a system or institution—an *abstraction*. I fasten the guilt and responsibility of the wrongs inflicted on the *living* slaves upon the *living* slave-holders. I would strip off the masks which the false public sentiment of the Church and Clergy has cast over the slave-breeders and slave-holders, and show the innate essential loathsomeness of every man who holds a Man as property, and herds him with beasts. Christianity can never abolish slavery, while the slave-holder is received as a christian; and the American delegates came to the Alliance conference, as their acts showed, mainly to prevent that conference from excluding slave-holders from its fold. They triumphed; and have returned to report their success to those slave-holders, by whose counsel and money many of them came.

With deep anxiety—as feeling myself in the slaves' stead—I ask—Will the meeting in Manchester on the 4th of November, hear the cry of the slaves who have fallen among professedly pious praying thieves? Or will they by silence or otherwise, strike hands with thieves and become partakers with adulterers?

HENRY C. WRIGHT, of Philadelphia.

Druid Cottage, Killiney Bay,
Oct. 27th, 1846.

CAN SLAVE-HOLDERS BECOME MEMBERS

OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE?

To the Rev. Ralph Wardlaw, D. D.

Sir,—According to your own showing, you ought, at once, to withdraw from the Evangelical Alliance. You say in your letter to the Editor of the Patriot, dated October 8th, 1846, that “If the Alliance does indeed consist in whole, or, *in part*, of those who would maintain slavery,—I at once admit the the justice of the conclusion to which you, yourself, have come; that ‘no consistent Anti-slavery man can remain a member of this so-called Evangelical Alliance.’ *I, for one, could not remain a member of it for one hour.*”

Here, then, you take your stand on the principle of *No-communication* with slave-holders; that you could not be a member of any general Alliance that is composed, in part, of slave-holders, and of those who maintain that it is right to hold slaves under certain circumstances. You cannot be a member of the British Branch, provided, it holds fellowship with the American Branch, which is to be composed in part of slave-holders.

Is the Alliance “composed in part of those who maintain slavery?” Every slave-holder, every one who claims a right to hold slaves, or encourages others to hold slaves, by assuring them that they can do so without guilt and in accordance with christianity, may be said to “maintain slavery.” Were any such, members of the Alliance Convention in London? Are they now members of the Alliance, so far as it is formed? If so, you are bound to leave it *this hour*.

But you say:

“It [the Alliance] has nothing to do with slavery or slave-holders. It is un-contaminated by either; *it has repudiated both*. When the Alliance was formed it contained no slave-holders. If it did, point them out.”

When the Alliance was formed it *did* contain slave-holders; known and *acknowledged* Slave-holders; it *did* contain those who *claimed the right* to hold slaves; it *did* contain those who openly and publicly assured slave-holders that they did perfectly right and acted the part of honest man, and devout ministers, in holding slaves.

PROOF.

Sir Culling Eardly Smith said in a speech at Aylesbury.—“It was only last week, that one of the most christian men in London—a *member of the Evangelical Alliance*—and one of its most useful members too—who came to me and stated this case. He said—“I am a member and a director of a Brazilian Mining Company. That Brazilian Mining Company uses the only labour which is to be found in Brazil; we are able only to employ the labour of slaves; in fact, *we are slave-owners.*”

Allow me to ask—What did you mean by the assertion—that—“When the Alliance was formed it contained no slave-holders!” that “it had nothing to do with slave-holders, and is uncontaminated by them? Here the Chairman of the Alliance Conference declares (see Patriot, October 1st, 1846.) that one of the “most christian and useful members of the Alliance,”—told him that he was the *owner of slaves*. Here is a man who declares that he holds and uses man as property, and turns the image of God into an article of merchandise, in order to dig gold and silver from the earth; and he justifies himself in the deed by saying, he and his fellow-directors could get no other labour!! This man was a member of the Alliance when it was formed and is so still, and by that body, put forward

one of its most active, and useful members. If you did not know the set when you made the assertion that the "Alliance contained no slave-holders," you know it now; and knowing the fact that it is "composed, in part, of slave-holders," Will you "remain a member of it for one hour?" You will not; you *cannot*; and maintain a character for truth.

Again,—It is a well known fact, which he will not deny, that the Rev. Thomas Smyth, D. D., of Charleston, South Carolina, is a slave-holder, to all intents and purposes. His wife holds slaves; his father-in-law, with whom he lives, owns slaves; he hires slaves—paying the price of their labour to their masters; he is waited on by slaves; and asserts his own right, and the right of his wife to own slaves and to hold and use immortal man as a beast, and to buy and sell human beings as he does sheep and cattle. Dr. Thomas Smyth was a leading and an honored member of the Alliance when it was formed; and still is a member.

Again,—Dr. Olin recently declared in the Methodist Conference in New York, as his speech was reported in the True Wesleyan, respecting slave-holders; "Others may doubt their right to hold slaves; *I do not*. Those who say slave-holders have no right to hold slaves, may be *good men*, but they are *bad methodists*. *I WAS A SLAVE-HOLDER MYSELF—and had the climate permitted me to live in the South, I should, doubtless, have been one still.*" The Rev. Dr. Olin was a leading member of the Alliance when it was formed, and is so still. I see his name on Committees, and he was active above most others, in preventing the Alliance from a formal and distinct declaration of Non-fellowship with slave-holders.

Again,—The Rev. Dr. Cunningham, of Edinburgh, Theological Professor in the Free Church of Scotland, says—"A man may be a slave-holder innocently.*** The law makes slaves chattels personal. The necessary consequence is, that a man becomes a slave-holder, whether he will or not. The slaves are his, and he cannot get rid of them. We may imagine in this country that a man need not be a slave-holder unless he pleases; but this is gross ignorance.** In the Southern States, slave-holding is a matter of necessity, *because there is no other way of getting domestic servants*!! Dr. Cunningham is a member of the Alliance and was, at its formation; as I am informed. Does Dr. Cunningham maintain slavery? Is he not a slave-holder in the sight of God? He asserts that men may be perfectly innocent and hold slaves and convert men into beasts and things rather than be without domestic servants!!

Again,—The Rev. S. H. Cox, D. D., was moderator of the new school General Assembly that met in Philadelphia last spring. That Assembly was composed, in part, of slave-holders. About forty of its members were 'MAN-STEALERS'—they hold and breed slaves, and make merchandise of the bodies and souls of men. Doctor Cox "struck hands with thieves and was partaker with adulterers". He was the boon companion of men "guilty of the highest kind of theft." He sided with them in their discussions on slavery and received a vote of thanks from them at the close of the sitting of the Assembly; and he promised that he would defend their honor in the Alliance if he came to it; that if they were excluded, "he would instantly leave the body—shaking off the dust of his feet against them." Dr. S. H. Cox was a leading member of the Alliance at its formation, and is so still; and the Alliance knew that he was the staunch ally and supporter of slave-holders at the time, for they were told this by one of its members. Had there been as many *sheep-stealers*, as there were Man-stealers in that assembly, and had Dr. Cox sat with them in loving fellowship, as their Moderator, not only not rebuking them but siding with them in a discussion on sheep-stealing and sustained them by his influence—Would the Alliance have received him as a member? Would you, sir, have sat with Dr. Cox, in that Alliance, had you known him to have

been Moderator of an Assembly composed in part of *sheep-stealers* as did, knowing him to have been Moderator of an assembly of *Man-steal*. There you sat, day by day and side by side, with the Moderator Confederacy of Man-stealers. You fraternized with him as a christian a christian minister—as he came fresh from presiding over forty men turn the image of God into a brute, who breed human beings for the Market—and who trade in “slaves and the souls of men.” There he sat weeks presiding over these Man-stealers, in their deliberations, as to w and means of spreading the Kingdom of Heaven ; and soon as they cl their sittings, he comes to London, is welcomed to the Alliance, by and others. I ask again, Had he thus come from presiding over the liberations of a fraternity of sheep-stealers,—Would you have welcom him to your christian embraces ?

No less than thirty-two of the members of that Alliance declared, by formal protest against excluding slave-holders, their settled purpose continue in their agreement with slave-holders, and to maintain inviola their covenant with them even though, by their so doing, they shou themselves be excluded from the Alliance. And Dr. Cox declared that would be better to have no Alliance than to exclude slave-holders from it—and that he would leave it if they did and shake off the dust of his feet against them. The Alliance, at the dictation of such men, consented to rescind their resolution touching the exclusion of slave-holders. I say at the dictation and threats of such men as Doctors COX, OLIN, and SMITH for if these allies of American slave-holders had not protested and threatened, the resolution had never been expunged from the Record. They not only consented to erase that resolution, but to postpone the formation of a general organization of the Alliance ;—for, in consequence of the existence of slavery and the opposition of the American brethren to excluding slave-holders as you say—“The Alliance has actually been prevented from forming and settling its general organization.” So, after all the noise and din of preparation and of holding a world’s convention to form an Evangelical Alliance, no such Alliance has been formed ; no general Alliance exists, though *one thousand* ministers met, sat, and deliberated a fortnight to form it ; and all because the Alliance Conference had not the fidelity to God and Humanity to avow distinctly that no slave-holder should ever enter it ; and they feared to avow this, lest the allies and defenders of American slave-holders should “leave the body and shake off the dust of their feet against them.” !!

SIR,—Drs. Cox, Olin, Smyth, Kirk, Patton, and the other allies of the slave-holders are returned to report their triumphs over British Abolitionists to their slave-holding confederates, and to form the American Branch of the Alliance of slave-holders and their abettors. On the 4th of November, *you and your brethren* in this kingdom are to meet in Manchester, to form the British branch of the Alliance. The American Slave-holders and their allies will not be there to trouble you. Will you and your friends, as you assemble at Manchester, and form the district organization adopt, *as an Alliance*, what you, the Rev. John Angell James, the Rev. Dr. King, of Glasgow, the Rev. Dr. Thompson, of Coldstream, the Rev. Dr. Symington, and others have adopted as *individuals* that you will hold no christian fellowship with slave-holders ? Will you adopt it as a settled principle that no slave-holder shall ever be allowed to become a member of the British Section of the Alliance ? You say—

“If they (the Americans) are found to introduce slave-holders into the communion of the Alliance, in their branch of it, we are neither accountable for the act, nor bound by it. *The repudiation of the deed will then become our duty*, and separation from those by whom the pollution has been wilfully contracted. It will be ours to say, with sorrow, but with

ness—"We are not responsible for this act of yours. *You knew our* 1. You have done what we cannot recognize and tolerate—**WE PART.**" How can the American branch know that the British Section will part with them, if slave owners are admitted, unless the British branch declares so? When you meet in Manchester—say to the Americans—"We part with you admit slave-holders"—and the work is done. The people of England will be satisfied; agitation will cease; for I have no controversy with the Alliance, in the present agitation, except as it is giving the respectability and sanction of christianity to slave-holders, and associating the name of the Redeemer of the world, in loving fellowship with "sinners of the first rank." I love the idea of Christian Union; and would hail the day when all, who love the Lord Jesus, may *formally and openly*, be united to one another, the world over, as they are united to Christ. But Christian Union can never be cemented, by an Alliance with slave-holders. It cannot promote the Kingdom of God on earth by forming an Evangelical Alliance with Man-stealers; by forming an evangelical "agreement with hell and a covenant with death."

As for myself, you say, "I should mourn the day, when that *"damned thing"* should appear on the fair bond of our Alliance. The hand which I grasp with fond delight, I should fling indignantly from me." Well, Sir, go, get the Alliance about to be formed in Manchester, to adopt this as one of its distinctive, openly-avowed principles; then would the American slave-holders and their Allies "know your mind." Now I think you will fellowship their branch though composed "wholly in part of slave-holders;" and so far as the Alliance has spoken, they have no reason to think otherwise.

You say of Doctors Olin, Cox, Smyth, and other American delegates—our American brethren, who were with us, are *Anti-Slavery men* like ourselves! I have no fear of them. They are *honest men*. They are *good christians* and fellow ministers of Christ." "*Anti-slavery men*" indeed!! One of them declares that if his health permitted him to live in the south he should be a slave-holder now; that he has no doubt that he has a right to hold slaves; another employs slaves, is waited on by slaves, in the name of his wife and father-in-law, helps to hold slaves, to educate slaves, to buy and sell slaves, and defends his and their right to do so on the inspired record; and another, last spring, presided over the deliberations of some forty slave-holders, giving them his countenance and support, and promising to guard their *sacred* honor in the Alliance conference, and that if they were excluded, he would "leave that body and kick off the dust of his feet against them"! And these you say, "are *anti-slavery men—like yourselves*"! These you call "*honest men*"—"good christians", and "*fellow ministers of Christ*"! Had Dr. Cox presided over the deliberations of forty sheep-stealers—I ask again—giving his countenance and support, and promising to guard their honor and leave the Alliance if they were cast out—would you call him an "*honest man*", a "*fellow christian*"? Had Dr. Olin, or Dr. Smyth claimed the right to steal sheep, as they do to steal men, and defended sheep-stealing from the inspired record, Would you receive them as "*fellow ministers of Christ*"?

You say—"It is a false and slanderous conclusion, that a man is no abolitionist because he does not approve of *all the modes* of abolition which have been adopted and prosecuted." The question is not one of the "*mode of abolition*." I do not accuse them on this ground, but it is a question of "*right to hold slaves*", and of the innate, essential sinfulness of slaveholders. No man can be a slave-holder in America and not hold and use man as property; not abolish marriage and encourage concubinage; and perpetuate theft, robbery, slave-breeding, slave-stealing, and all the vices and pollutions that are essential to the existence of slaves and

slave-holders. Do Islander Doctors Cox, Olin, and Smyth, when they claim a right to hold slaves, justify slave-holders, would be slave-holders if they lived in the south, and encourage slave-breeding and trading by recognizing slave-holders as "honest men", "fellow christians"? SIR,—If you claimed a right to steal sheep, defended sheep-stealers from the christian record, received the gains of sheep-stealing in pay for preaching, and sat as moderator over a company of sheep-stealers, promising to defend their honor and to leave the Alliance with them if they were cast out, Would you accuse me of "falsehood and slander" if I said you were the ally and abettor of sheep-stealers? You would. Why then say it is "false and slanderous" to deny the abolitionists those who claim a right to hold slaves, and join hands, in christian fellowship, with slave-breeders and slave-traders?

SIR.—One fact will stamp the Alliance conference with infamy from which nothing can redeem it in the estimation of the people, when the fact becomes fully known and understood. It is this: the Alliance did adopt a rule that excludes all FRIENDS or QUAKERS from membership, but refused to adopt a rule to exclude SLAVE-BREEDERS and SLAVE-TRADERS. The Alliance says to *Friends*—to the *Sturges*, the *Gurneys*, the *Frys*, the *Clarksons*, the *Allens*, the *Herriks*, and the *Wheeleys* of this age, you can have no part in the advantages, the respectability, the christian character and comfort of the Alliance. We cannot walk together with you, "because you differ from us in regard to outward forms and observances", but it would not say this to the Slave-holders. Then they say in effect, "though we know you chain, hold, and use men as "chattels personal," and turn man made in the image of God into brute; though we know you abolish marriage, and herd men and women together in concubinage; though we know you breed human beings like cattle, for the market; whip, scourge, and hang men for learning their children and their fellow creatures to read the written record of their Father's will, and hunt them with rifles and blood-hounds if they attempt to rise from slaves to freemen, from BRUTES to MEN—yet, seeing that you are or may possibly be, in the language of Cunningham and Candlish, "*low christians, and fellow ministers of Christ—honest and respectable men—and useful, praying, and honored disciples of Christ—serving God in the gospel of His Son,*" we will not exclude you from our brotherhood, but seeing you do these deeds—"against your own wills, and without any fault of your own, and for the interests of the slave—we cannot deny to you the paternal embrace."—

Such, in effect, is the language of the Alliance to the two classes—FRIENDS and SLAVE-HOLDERS. By keeping your position in that body will you adopt this language as your own? At present, by your position you say it.

The Free Church of Scotland sent a deputation to American slave-holders, and solicited and obtained £3,000 of their bloody gains—the price of their Saviour bought and sold and enslaved in the persons of his little ones to build their churches and pay their ministers. That church, in whose coffers is the price of blood, of the bodies and souls of men, has been arraigned for its guilty alliance with man-stealers, before the bar of christendom and received a sentence of condemnation. They sought to justify themselves by a distinction between "slave-holding and slave-having," and between "holding men as slaves, and holding them as chattels," declaring one a heinous sin and the other a christian act. Now that church has taken refuge behind the Alliance, they say through the "Free Church Magazine."—"We may hope that the assailants of the Free Church may now be brought to admit the propriety of her conduct, since it has received the satisfaction of collective christendom, and may desist from their attempts to injure her by their calumnious aspersions." Thus the Free Church of Scotland takes the same view

action of the Alliance which I have taken. They consider that it is the principle of *christian fellowship* with American slave-holders, and they strengthen themselves in their refusal to SEND BACK THE BLOODY DOLLARS OF THE MAN-STEALERS, and in their determination to persevere in their alliance with them. Will you, with the Rev. J. A. James and others, who have openly and repeatedly avowed your resolution never to hold christian fellowship with slave-holders, sit in the convention at Manchester on the 4th of November and let the British section of the Alliance sanction this principle, and give influence to associate the Saviour of mankind with those who "trade slaves and the souls of men"? As you value the "glorious gospel of the blessed God," take your stand, and use your influence to have the slave-holder excluded from this branch of the Alliance, by a distinct unequivocal vote.

One of your co-adjutors (Rev. Mr. Osborn, of Liverpool) in the work of defending the Alliance, said, at a meeting in Sunderland, Oct. 19th, as reported in the '*Sunderland and Durham County Herald*' of Oct. 3rd, that "It is intended at the next meeting of the Alliance to have a christian black man and christian slaves. They had an *honorable, confidential, understanding* with their American brethren that neither color, nor condition should disqualify for membership in the Alliance; provided, their moral qualifications are found in each individual. He should like to know, what has been done for the cause of the slave, more likely to benefit him than the opening him a door into the Evangelical Alliance, and putting him on an equal footing with his dear friend Mr. James, Sir C. E. Smith, Mr. Bickersteth, and the other leaders of different religious parties. Was ever such a thing heard of before?" This caps the climax! Has the Alliance been so *gulled* by Doctors Cox, Olin, Smyth, and other defenders and allies of American slave-holders, as to believe that slaves can come from Carolina, Virginia, or Alabama, to London, or go to Geneva or to New York to join the Alliance? Did the "beloved" "anti-slavery" "fellowship christian" abettors and allies of slave-holders so utterly cajole and bewilder the Alliance as to make you believe that *slaves* would be allowed to go to meetings of the Alliance, and there sit and vote and deliberate with their *Masters*, and Sir C. E. Smith, J. A. James, Ralph Wardlaw, and others? If they made such representations as your coadjutor Mr. Osborn, says they did, they uttered what they knew to be false; for they all know that a slave cannot step off the grounds of his master without his leave, except under the liabilities of being hunted with blood-hounds and rifles as a *runaway*; they know that not a master, in all the south would ever give his slave liberty to go to New York, or London to attend a meeting of the Alliance; they knew that no slave would ever return to the fetters, chains, and whips of the plantation, if once permitted to attend and join and participate in the meetings of the Alliance. A slave—a chattel—a thing—a man turned into a brute—whose eyes, ears, bones, and sinews—body and soul belong to another, and made articles of merchandise—bought and sold with beasts and things—attend the Alliance! the honored and respected companions of J. A. James, Ralph Wardlaw, C. E. Smith, G. Osborn, Wm. Cunningham, and thousands like them, and then go back to "*Massa*" in Carolina or Tennessee, to be put on the auction block to be sold and to be driven, like an ox, to his uncompensated toil under the lash! Englishmen! Will you be hoodwinked by such representations?

REVEREND SIR—This, and this alone, is the question at issue—DOES THE ALLIANCE GIVE ITS SANCTION TO CHRISTIAN COMMUNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS? That slave-holders and their abettors are in the Alliance, I have proved. Will you remain in fellowship with them? Will the British branch, to be formed at Manchester, sanction such fellow-

ship ; or will you say to the American branch " If you admit slave-ers to your section of the Alliance—WE PART " ?

In conclusion let me say,—“ by all the tender sympathies of hu brotherhood from which the slave is excluded ; by all the d ea hopes cluster around Calvary, in which the slave is not allowed to share you honor God and respect his image in man, which is bought and in the person of your imbruted brethren ”— I entreat you and the l tish branch of the Alliance not to sanction, by your silence or otherw the principle and practice of CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP WITH AMERICAN SLAVE-HOLDERS.

HENRY C. WRIGHT, of Philadelph

*Druid Cottage, Killiney Bay,
Oct. 31st, 1846.*

P. S.—THE REV. DR. REED, AND THE ALLIANCE.—I would call you especial attention to the following extract from a letter from one of your own denomination, who has taken a prominent and active part in getting up the Alliance—yet to be formed, according to your testimony ; the letter is from the Rev. Andrew Reed, D.D. of London, and was written to the committee of the Evangelical Alliance, giving his reasons for *with drawing* from it. The third reason given is in the following words :—(see Nonconformist, October 28th, 1846.)

“ Undoubtedly, the Alliance were at liberty to say whether they would deal with that question. They resolved, however, to take action on it ; and in my judgment, the course pursued is *the* most objectionable that it was possible to adopt. The conference resolved unanimously, and under a strange ecstasy of mind, that slavery may be, not only legal, but *right* ; not only right, but, in certain circumstances, beneficial even to the slave. They afterwards met to rescind that resolution ; not, be it observed, to meet the wishes of a small British Party, who might have thought, on reflection, that it yielded too much against the slave ; but to satisfy a controlling party, who thought it yielded too little ! And, finally, it stultified itself by agreeing to expunge its own minutes, and to persuade itself and the public that it had taken no action, on a subject on which, in fact, it had been more deeply engaged than in any other.”

Mark the following facts which are asserted by Dr. Reed.—First, *the Alliance was more deeply engaged in the slavery question than in any other.* Second, *the Alliance expunged its own minutes, to persuade itself and the public that it had taken no action on the subject ;* Third, *the Alliance rescinded the resolution respecting slave-holders—to satisfy a controlling party who thought it yielded TOO LITTLE AGAINST the slave ;*—Fourth, *the Alliance did not rescind that resolution “ to meet the wishes of the British party who thought it yielded TOO MUCH against the slave ; ”*—Fifth, *the Alliance “ resolved unanimously, that slavery may be not only legal, but RIGHT.* Such are the facts respecting the doings of the Alliance toward slave-holders—as disclosed by one of its most distinguished and influential members. The party at whose dictation, the Alliance “ *stultified itself,*” outraged Anti-slavery England, and “ passed by on the other side ” when they saw three millions striped, lacerated, imbruted and “ fallen among thieves ; consisted of Doctors S. H. Cox, Smyth, Olin, Patten, Kirk, and their fellow-allies of slave-holders, from American. Mark the motive ; the Alliance rescinded that resolution not because it was in *favor* of slave-holders, as you and your fellow-defenders of that deed would have us believe, but because it was *against* them, not for the good of the slave, but out of sympathy with the *slave-holders.* I speak of its action as a *body* ; it now stands with slave-breeders against the slave.

*** Persons wishing to join the Anti-slavery League, in Lancashire and the Neighbourhood, may obtain cards of membership, (one shilling) by applying to Mr. Theophilous Pattison, Newall's Buildings, Manchester, or to Mr. William Logan, Missionary, Rochdale. Any enquiries respecting the League will be attended to, if addressed as above ; by whom subscriptions or Donations will also be received and remitted to the Parent Society, 6, Waterloo, Pall mall, London.

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